

Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 ACDA-19 EUR-25 PM-07 DODE-00 AF-10

ARA-16 NEA-10 PCH-02 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NASA-04 NSAE-00 NSC-10 OIC-04 SPC-03 PA-03 PRS-01

RSC-01 SCI-06 SS-15 MBFR-04 USIA-15 SAJ-01 ABF-01

OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-11 AID-20 /242 R

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APPROVED BY IO - DHPOPPER

PM/ISP:NTERRELL

EUR/SOV:JMATLOCK

IO-UNP:LTSTULL

IO-MFHERZ

EA/RA: LMCNUTT

IO/CMD:AYODER

ACDA/IR:ANEIDLE (SUBS)

DOD/ISA:CAPT W.MARTIN

AF:MR. SMITH

ARA:MR. MARTINEZ

EA:MR. DUNKERLEY

EUR:MR. BECKER

NEA:MR. WRIGHT

----- 103240

R 291710Z SEP 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY SUVA BY POUCH

XMT AMEMBASSY BANJUL

AMEMBASSY SUVA

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DAKAR ALSO PASS BANJUL

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, UN, UR, CH

SUBJECT: SOVIET UN INITIATIVE ON REDUCTION OF MILITARY
BUDGETS AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

1. IN HIS SEPT 25 UNGA GENERAL DEBATE STATEMENT AND AN ACCOMPANYING LETTER TO SYG, USSR FONMIN GROMYKO PROPOSED NEW AGENDA ITEM ON REDUCTION BY SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS BY 10 PERCENT AND APPLICATION OF PART OF SAVINGS THEREFROM TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. GROMYKO AMPLIFIED THAT: (A) MEASURE WOULD REQUIRE PARTICIPATION BY ALL SC PERMANENT MEMBERS "WITHOUT EXCEPTION"; (B) DESIRABLE THAT OTHER STATES "POSSESSING BIG ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POTENTIALS" SHOULD ALSO REDUCE MILITARY BUDGETS; (C) 10 PERCENT, "FOR EXAMPLE", OF FUNDS RELEASED THROUGH BUDGET CUTS COULD BE DEVOTED TO AID DEVELOPING COUNTRIES; (D) "TEMPORARY" INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF SC PERM MEMBERS, OTHER MILITARY BUDGET REDUCERS AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES COULD ADMINISTER AID DISTRIBUTION. FOLLOWING BACKGROUND AND INITIAL GUIDANCE IS TO ASSIST POSTS IN ANY DISCUSSION OF PROPOSAL WITH HOST GOVTS. ANY DEFINITIVE STATEMENT OF USG POSITION WOULD BE REGISTERED DURING UNGA DEBATE ON ITEM.

2. SOVIET INITIATIVE IS LATEST IN LONG LINE OF SIMILAR PROPAGANDA PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD OVER YEARS BY USSR AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN VARIOUS UN FORUMS. IN CONTRAST TO PREVIOUS PROPOSALS, ITS MOST STRIKING ASPECT IS REQUIREMENT, MANIFESTLY DIRECTED AT PRC, THAT ALL PERMANENT MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL MUST PARTICIPATE "WITHOUT EXCEPTION." ALSO, BY SPECIFYING THAT PART OF SAVINGS SHOULD BE USED FOR AID TO LDCS, SOVIETS HAVE INCLUDED ELEMENT WITH PPOTENTIAL APPEAL FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, SOME OF WHICH HAVE LONG URGED THIS STEP UPON MAJOR POWERS. MOSCOW UNDOUBTEDLY HOPED TO USE THESE ELEMENTS TO DRIVE WEDGE BETWEEN LDCS AND PEKING, WHICH IT COUNTED UPON TO REJECT PROPOSAL OUT OF HAND. HOWEVER, PROPOSAL ALSO POSES DELICATE PROBLEM FOR MAJOR DEVELOPED COUNTRIES VIS-A-VIS LDCS AND WE CANNOT MERELY BRUSH IT ASIDE AS PROPAGANDISTIC PLOY. IN EXPLAINING OUR SKEPTIC

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CISM WE SHOULD AVOID IMPLICATION THAT WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN REALISTIC POSSIBILITIES OF FREEING NEW RESOURCES FOR DEVELOPMENT.

3. US HAS GIVEN NO ENCOURAGEMENT IN PAST TO SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR ACROSS-THE-BOARD MILITARY BUDGET REDUCTIONS, ON GROUNDS THAT SUCH REDUCTIONS CANNOT BE EFFECTIVELY VERIFIED, WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT FRACTION OF OVERALL SOVIET

MILITARY EXPENDITURES IS COVERED BY THEIR ANNOUNCED BUDGET FIGURE, AND DIRECT PERCENTAGE CUT IN MILITARY BUDGETS IS NOT SOUND APPROACH TO ACHIEVING SIGNIFICANT AND BALANCED PROGRESS IN DISARMAMENT. NEVERTHELESS, AT VARIOUS TIMES WE HAVE SOUGHT TO TEST SOVIET INTEREST IN BROADENING EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION ON MILITARY BUDGETS BY PROPOSING TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS. SOVIETS HAVE NOT BEEN RECEPTIVE TO THESE APPROACHES. PRESENT SOVIET PROPOSAL, MOREOVER, DOES NOT APPEAR FRAMED TO SERVE AS STEPPING STONE TO SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

4. BEFORE GOING BEYOND OUR INITIAL PUBLIC COMMENT THAT PROPOSAL SHOULD BE LOOKED INTO "IN ITS ENTIRETY," WE WISH TO EVALUATE REACTIONS OF OUR ALLIES AND OTHERS. ON BASIS OF DOUGLAS-HOME'S SEPT 26 UNGA STATEMENT, INITIAL UK RESPONSE APPEARS VERY MUCH ALONG LINES OF OUR OWN PRELIMINARY THINKING. PRC COULD DECIDE TO USE PROPOSAL TO RENEW SINO-SOVIET POLEMICS ON DISARMAMENT THAT CHARACTERIZED 1971 AND 1972 UNGA DEBATES. CHINESE HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED PROPOSAL AS "PURE PROPAGANDA" IN UN CORRIDORS AND WITH PRESS. FULL EXTENT OF THEIR REACTION PROBABLY WILL BE APPARENT FROM PRC'S UNGA GENERAL DEBATE STATEMENT (SCHEDULED OCT 2, WELL BEFORE DISCUSSION OF ITEM COMES UP ON AGENDA). SOVIETS MIGHT NOT PERSIST WITH THEIR INITIATIVE IF OTHER SC PERMANENT MEMBERS ARE NEGATIVE TOWARD IT. MEANWHILE, SHOULD EITHER USSR OR PRC SOLICIT OUR VIEWS WE PLAN TO REPLY THAT SOVIET PROPOSAL IS UNDER CONSIDERATION IN ITS ENTIRETY.

5. IF HOST GOVTS INQUIRE RE USG ATTITUDE TOWARD PROPOSAL, YOU MAY CONVEY OUR PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT ALONG FOLLOWING LINES (POSTS IN ALLIED CAPITALS MAY AMPLIFY BY DRAWING ON PARAS 2-3 ABOVE AS DEEMED APPROPRIATE):
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US IS GIVING CONSIDERATION TO SOVIET PROPOSAL WHICH RAISES NUMBER OF COMPLEX ISSUES. WE WOULD WELCOME SAVINGS RESULTING FROM DISARMAMENT AND HAVE, OF COURSE, BEEN ONE OF PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF ECONOMIC AID TO LDCS SINCE WORLD WAR II. HOWEVER, WE HAVE DOUBTS WHETHER IT DESIRABLE TO LINK AID LEVELS TO SIZE OF MILITARY BUDGETS. (SOME COUNTRIES FOR INSTANCE COULD AFFORD MORE AID EVEN THOUGH THEY MAY NOT BE DECREASING THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS.) DIFFICULT PROBLEMS ALSO RAISED BY UNCERTAINTY ABOUT WHAT REALLY COVERED IN PUBLICLY RELEASED SOVIET DEFENSE BUDGETS, WHICH APPEAR TO COVER ONLY FRACTION OF ACTUAL DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. IN CONTRAST, US ROUTINELY AND PUBLICLY RELEASES COMPREHENSIVE, DETAILED DATA ON ITS DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AS PART OF ANNUAL BUDGET PROCESS INCLUDING CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL

IF SOVIETS (AND OTHERS) WERE PREPARED TO DO LIKEWISE.
IN ANY EVENT, MEANINGFUL CONSIDERATION OF ISSUES WHICH
SOVIET PROPOSAL RAISES WOULD REQUIRE TECHNICAL DIS-
CUSSIONS TO DETERMINE WHETHER DEFENSE BUDGETS OF MAJOR
POWERS CAN IN FACT BE COMPARED ON BASIS OF PUBLICLY
RELEASED DATA. WE WISH TO GIVE CAREFUL STUDY TO THESE
ISSUES BEFORE DETERMINING OUR POSITION ON SOVIET PRO-
POSAL. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT PROPOSAL REALISTIC
IN ANY CASE IN VIEW REQUIREMENT ALL FIVE PERMANENT
MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL MUST PARTICIPATE WITHOUT
EXCEPTION. KISSINGER

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